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AUTHOR	Durie, Arohia
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ABSTRACT

New Zealand's 1989 Education Act has resulted in a range of educational reforms. These reforms have offered the Maori opportunities to bring about positive educational developments for their people. Devolution of educational responsibility from a regional to a local level provided some of the space quickly utilized by the Maori. The requirement that university charters address the educational aspirations of all the community resulted in Massey University developing a charter referring to the rights and obligations in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. Subsequently, Maori participation in Massey University courses has increased. Changes on the research front have made it possible to engage in work that is valued equally by the researchers and the Maori participants who provide the necessary data. The research project Te Hoe Nuku Roa has developed an integrated framework that allows those factors impacting Maori to be given weighted representation. One factor is Maori cultural identity. Data from surveys of 102 households in the Manawatu-Whanganui region of the North Island were used to construct four cultural identity profiles, to be used to determine the role of cultural identity in successful educational outcomes. The project advances the interests of Maori in an appropriate way while furthering the frontiers of knowledge. This is a new experience for Maori, as they have long been the subjects of research that lies somewhere between intellectual invasion and theft of cultural property. (TD)

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PATHWAYS HOME

TE HOE NUKU ROA
(The Long Journey)

Paper presented by
Arohia Durie
Department of Policy Studies in Education

Monday June 16, 1996
Convention Centre
ALBUQUERQUE

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FIRST WORDS

The theme of the Conference, "**listen to the voices of the Elders, the voices of the Youth, the answers lie within us**" offers us a reminder of the values and practices of our home places. From these wise words we are gently urged to set our course towards home from wherever in the world we as indigenous peoples happen to be. In 1993 in Wollongong, Australia, we worked upon the same theme, attempting to draw out from the diversity of voices present, commonalities among our many indigenous peoples in the field of education. At that time, the acceptance of the power we can exercise for ourselves was a new realisation for some, ignited at last by stirring examples set by those determined to create changes for the better in their educational places. It became clear that everyone is able to act upon their environment to change it albeit to a greater or lesser degree. Without this realisation and consciousness raising, others will continue to manipulate our educational circumstances to suit purposes other than our own.

From Aotearoa-New Zealand, examples of a renewed effort to take charge of the education of our own young people is evident in a number of now quite well documented initiatives. To briefly review these, they have been:

- Kohanga Reo, Maori Language Immersion Childcare and Early Childhood Education

- Kura Kaupapa Maori, Immersion Maori language Primary Education based on a Maori philosophical base.

- Whare Kura, a continuation of the Maori Language Immersion and Maori Philosophical base, educational provision at the Secondary Level.

- Wananga, provision of Tertiary Education, including courses offering Degrees in specialised areas of study, Teacher Training, and Skillbased training courses. Not all courses at this level are offered in the Maori language.

- Community education courses usually based upon a Private Training Establishment structure, but which cater particularly for Maori people. Where these draw clientele largely from a Maori community, they are most likely to be attached to a Maori organisation usually a tribal or urban political structure such as a Runanga-a -iwi, or a Tribal Trust Board.

Besides these initiatives arising wholly from a Maori base, Anglophile mainstream educational institutions have also undergone modifications in an effort to improve provision for Maori students and staff who work and study within them.

This paper is delivered from just such a position, that of an indigenous Maori academic working in an Anglophile tertiary institution, a city based provincial University. At the heart of the paper is the question of identity and the relationships between home and place, vocational migration and a retention of cultural identity while crossing cultural borders. In contrast with the international literature assuming border crossings to have an inter nationstate component, for Maori, the frontiers and boundaries have been constructed across our territory, dissecting it into the few spaces still held by Maori, and those occupied by the now dominant outer Anglocentric culture common in Australasia.

To address the question I will include views of the subject from different positionalities, beginning with my own home place where features of the landscape blend with the stories of my ancestors, stories that recount evidence of a long occupation of that site. This is followed by some institutional workplace background. To conclude, the example of a University based research project which has as its focus the question of cultural identity, is used to show opportunities now open where the workplace can usefully serve those homeplaces through networking with affiliated staff members. In tracing the circle, I hope to show something of the way in which two very different ways of thinking in quite different cultural environments work towards serving each others purposes. With the adoption of fresh principles and processes for adacemic work, the exploitative relationships typical of the recent past can be buried.

MY HOME PLACE

The education story recounted here shares much in common with those of my team colleagues, while still being a personal construction.

For my extended family, identity is based on shared genealogy, and on connections through right of occupation and story to our ancestral lands and tribal landmarks. All of these factors come together in our collective home, our meeting houses or wharenui named for ancestors from whom we all descend.

Through my parents I have links to three different tribes. To the Kai Tahu people from the South Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand through my mother, and through my father to the North Island tribes of Rongowhakaata of Turanganui a Kiwa, and Ngati Porou on the East Coast where I grew up.

From my birthplace at Te Mata-o- Rehua, three landmarks dominate the skyline.

On a steep coastal ridge high on the perimeters of the extended family territory, is the site of of one of our ancient houses of learning, Te Wharewananga o Tapere nui a Whatonga. It was here that ancestral knowledge was carefully passed on to those of the next generation who proved themselves worthy of such a privilege.

Further along the coastline is an equally important landmark, Ahikaaroa, named to symbolise the unbroken occupation of our land.

Between each of these landmarks is the eastern most point of the mainland territory, O-tiki, a peak named for the topknot of an ancestor known throughout Polynesia, Maui -tikitiki-a taranga. All around this place the names suggest the personification of the land.

On this site our family history extends back in time for more than a thousand years. Through continued occupation, careful resource use and defence in times of invasion, ancestors sustained this birthright for all their descendents. Today, the pattern is kept. Family members continue to keep the fires of occupation and rights to that territory alive for all of us who live and work in far different places.

A characteristic of the people of this valley has been the insistence on the benefits of education. Indeed the Ngati Porou people as a tribe have always emphasised the benefits of learning, and of education and development so it is not suprising that my work, like that of others in the family, should reflect these continuing tribal emphases.

A predictable pattern has been the migration of young people out of their home territories first in search of further education, and then in establishing new careers and homes. Those family members who return home to stay, carry the major responsibility of keeping the culture alive and the land secure.

THE WORK PLACE

For those of us who live at a distance from tribal homes, the multiple obligations of ancestral home, ancestral land, extended family, nuclear family and family home, coupled with associated responsibilities and career require a balancing exercise that is not always so easy to maintain (Durie, A.E. 1989, 1995). Given the once unyielding University perspective of research, scholarship and teaching, it has too often been an alien working environment for Maori staff and students.
University based careers have in the past, offered little to support the notion of keeping pathways to ancestral homes open for Maori, preferring instead to service the ancestral pathways that led mainly to Europe and Britain and sometimes to the United States of America.

I lecture in a University Education Department that has few Maori staff. Little about the Department derives from a Maori base, although

colleagues sometimes convince themselves that the presence of the few staff who are Maori is sufficient to serve the educational needs of students who aspire to become competent teachers of Maori learners. Such fictitious convictions of course are far from being the case.

University life would have carried on in much the same way as it had done for generations were they not suddenly required by Government to implement changes or disappear. In the changes that ensued, it has been possible to better provide for Maori clientele in the University sector. Over the last decade, Aotearoa-New Zealand has been subjected to a broad range of reforms affecting every sector of educational provision. For Maori the mammoth changes to education forecast by these reforms have offered windows of opportunity to bring about positive educational development for our people. Devolution of educational responsibility from a regional to a local level provided some of the space quickly utilised by the Maori mainstream sector.[1]

For those of us who work outside of the Maori mainstream sector, the 1989 Education Act and its Amendments subjected the Universities to similar management restructuring as experienced by the rest of the Education sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. An important change was the requirement to construct a University Charter which took account of the educational aspirations of all of the community including the Maori community. The Massey University Charter developed as a result of the consultation exercise included a Treaty of Waitangi section, a reference to an 1840 agreement between iwi Maori and the British Crown identifying rights and obligations for each signatory group. Within this section, the aim was to :

give effect to the Treaty of Waitangi and the obligations thereby created in respect of programmes for Maori people (s.3.2.1 Massey University Charter, 1994-1998). [2]

University policies developed since have been required to give cognisance to all of the Charter statements and to take reference from them. Although the potential of the Charter statement has yet to be fully realised, it can still be said that the Treaty of Waitangi section is serving its purpose well.

Since its inception, much progress has been made in raising the levels of participation in all courses offered by the University at undergraduate and graduate levels as evidenced in a report prepared for the University Council by the Massey University Objectives for Maori Committee (Durie, M.H., April, 1994). A further example of progress was the 1992 policy regarding the right of students to write their assignments and

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1. By Maori mainstream I mean to distinguish those initiatives with Maori learners and Maori communities as the central focus, from those which do not.

2 The full text of this section and of the Equity of Educational Opportunity section from the same document can be found in appendix one attached.

examinations in the Maori language if they had sufficient language competency to do so .[3]

Another major change to education which impacted on Universities, involved the way research would be funded. All access to research funds would be competitive, with categories decided by Government and made available through Crown Research Institutes. Directors of these research institutes would be appointed by Government, and Universities would be just one of many communities of interest seeking funding for research.

THE RESEARCH

It is on the research front that it has been possible to engage in work that is valued equally by the Research team, the University, the Funding source, and by the Maori participants who provide the necessary data. While there has been some change on the curricula front, progress here is most evident in the Department of Maori Studies, rather than University wide.

I want to introduce you to a piece of research being conducted by a team of Maori researchers from Massey University in Palmerston North, a city in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Within it echoes of the wisdoms behind the conference theme, can be discerned for it involves a return to research which gives credence to the philosophies espoused by the elders.

The research has relevance for a number of reasons, first,while the goal, the desired outcome is important, at the same time, a process is demanded that arises out of the philosophies inherent in tikanga- a -iwi, our customary lifeways. How to get there has been just as important as the findings uncovered at the end.

Development of research frameworks and processes that will serve our people rather than undermine them has been a challenge Maori academics have willingly taken up. Too often, in the past, we have had to live with less than satisfactory research processes and with results of research conducted without the sanction of our people. Gradual accomplishment of ambition has allowed us to begin turning the resources of traditional Universities towards the goals of our own people, the families and communities that make up our tribal constituencies.

In the past, research processes have tended to collect and interpret data in ways that have squeezed the spirit out of the story. Data has been divorced from life. The presentations given this morning enhance the theory upon which the research has been based, that if an analytical framework could be developed that took full account of personal and family development

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[3] Although Maori is the indigenous language of the country, it did not acquire Official language status from Post Treaty of Waitangi governments until the 1987 Maori language Act.

progress towards an emancipatory research methodology for Maori would indeed be made.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa has thus developed what is hoped is an integrated framework for analysis which attempts to gather in the many nuances of what it means to be Maori as we approach the 21st century.

By integrated it is hoped that the framework will allow those factors which impact on Maori to be given weighted representation so that those not commonly included in analyses get to count. One factor included in the framework is Te Ao Maori, sourcing a Maori cultural identity.
In order to inform this aspect of the study, twenty seven questions were asked of 102 households in the home base region for the study, the Manawatu-Whanganui region of the North Island.[4] Four cultural identity profiles were constructed which could be utilised across all sectors of the research, including my sector, education, to see if cultural identity was indeed an important factor in determining successful educational outcomes. The four profiles were, a *secure* identity, a *positive* identity, a *notional* identity, and a*compromised* identity (1996:7). The 27 questions asked of participants were assumed to give effect to quantifiable measures of characteristics considered germane to Maori cultural identity. These are:

- self identification
- whakapapa (ancestry)
- marae participation (exercising participatory rights through ancestral connections to cultural compounds usually located within tribal territories)
- whanau (extended family)
- whenua tipu (ancestral land)
- contacts with Maori people (includes contacts with 'significant other' Maori such as tribal elders).
- Maori language

(Some slight adaptations to the original have been made by the writer)

[4] Te Hoe Nuku Roa has a home page on the World Wide Web network which allows for further communication regarding the study.

For Maori identity it should be noted that unlike the accepted procedures in the United States, blood quantum is not a measure, but rather, as the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Research explains:

> self identification has increasingly replaced biological estimations as the preferred method of determining ethnic identity (Durie, M.H. Black, T.E. Christensen, I. Durie, A.E., Fitzgerald, E., Taiapa, J.T, Tinirau, E., Apatu, J, Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team, 1996:7).

When the findings are interpreted through the framework, the expectation is that they will more closely reflect the multiple realities that exist for Maori and therefore allow for more accurate policy making and prediction of future needs for Maori. From the interest in the study generated so far, it is clear that where the study is directly related to the interests and priorities of the communities from whom participants are drawn, the response rate and the interest in the findings will be high.

The Maori Profiles project looks to follow the stories of participants for well into the next century. It is hoped that findings from this research will give clearer indications about the range of ways in which Maori claim identity. At one extreme for example, there are those for whom being Maori may be as minimal as seeking an education grant from targetted educational sources. At the other there are those for whom a commitment to life focussed on extended family and marae regardless of the demand on personal and family time and income, will continue to be a reality. Within the parameters of minimal to maximal participation in Maori social processes it is expected that a more definitive view of the actual circumstances and aspirations of Maori people can be determined.

Participation in the project allows me to step away from a reliance on western models of research into the development of processes that sit more comfortably with Maori. At the same time, the project has the dual purpose of advancing the interests of Maori in an appropriate way while still furthering the frontiers of knowledge.

For iwi Maori this is a relatively new experience since we share a history well known to many, of having long been the subjects of research described at best, as intellectual invasion, and at worst as debilitating theft of cultural property.

The research takes the team and the University into urban Maori homes, and into tribal heartlands, demonstrating in each instance a connection at last between the world of academia and the homelands of the research team in a manner that can enhance both. In earlier papers (Kia Hiwa Ra, August, 1995, Te Pukenga Korero; Changing Places, December 1995) I have explored the notion of dual accountability to examine the obligations and responsibilities Maori academics have beyond the terms of workplace contracts. By this I mean accountability to one's workplace and

accountability to one's people. The concept is equally as relevant to our discussion today.

From the stories told this morning you will be able to gauge even further the many realities of being Maori and belonging to iwi Maori. No two stories are the same and yet all have a common thread, a combination of shared ancestry with location of place, and the risks to Maori cultural identity of border crossing in Aotearoa - New Zealand. Te Hoe Nuku Roa, the Long Journey seeks to map for Maori in general, the significance of many more stories told by many more generations for the benefit of all.

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